

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1002 Respondents
Dates: December 11-14, 1993

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4044
NBC News/WSJ
December 1993

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[6]	[8]	[9]	[12]	[13]	[14]
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Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15
	9]
Not registered.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	1	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Right direction.....	35	27	33	27	27	<u>3</u> 37	43	47	<u>2</u> 45	<u>2</u> 15	<u>1</u> 34	[16
Wrong track.....	42	54	49	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48]

Mixed (VOL).....	16		14	12	13	10	11	11	14	11	9	13
Not sure.....	7		5	6	5	7	8	11	12	12	5	5

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu -tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	[17]
November 1993.....	24	30	14	14	16	2	
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	[18]
October 1993.....	22	26	17	14	19	2	
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	
Al Gore							
December 1993.....	18	29	25	13	10	5	[19]
November 1993.....	21	31	22	13	11	2	
October 1993.....	14	28	25	13	14	6	
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Ross Perot							
December 1993.....	7	16	19	24	30	4	[20]
November 1993.....	11	17	21	20	27	4	
October 1993.....	11	19	25	22	20	3	
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3	
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	

- 4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	56	47	50	<u>3</u> 45	<u>3</u> 41	52	57	51	[21]
Disapprove.....	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
Not sure.....	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A ONLY:)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	48	40	42	40	33	45	52	[22]
Disapprove.....	39	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	13	10	10	9	11	15	20	

(FORM A ONLY:)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	45	33	47	50	38	47	47	[23]
Disapprove.....	40	58	34	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	15	9	19	14	19	23	31	

(FORM B ONLY:)

4d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
Approve.....	30	29	<u>3</u> 24	<u>3</u> 27	<u>3</u> 27	<u>3</u> 27	15	*	28	*	[24]
Disapprove.....	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	
Not sure.....	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

(BOTH FORMS:)

4e. Looking ahead to the next election for president, if Bill Clinton runs for reelection as the Democratic candidate, will you definitely vote for Clinton in that election, probably vote for Clinton, probably vote for the Republican candidate, or definitely vote for the Republican candidate?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Definitely vote for Clinton.....	18	11	[25]
Probably vote for Clinton.....	24	25	
Probably vote for the Republican candidate.....	19	20	
Definitely vote for the Republican candidate.....	14	19	
Depends (VOL).....	16	14	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	
Ross Perot (VOL).....	1	2	
Not sure.....	6	7	

- 4f. How would you rate the overall performance and accomplishments of this year's Congress--is this Congress one of the best, above average, average, below average, or one of the worst?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91*</u>	<u>10/90*</u>	
One of the best.....	1	1	1	1	[26]
Above average.....	9	4	5	7	
Average.....	55	33	45	39	
Below average.....	21	36	32	32	
One of the worst.....	10	24	14	19	
Not sure.....	4	2	3	2	

Now I would like to ask you to look back at 1993 and ahead to 1994.

- 5a. Compared to other years, do you think 1993 was one of the best years for the United States, above average, about average, below average, or one of the worst years for the United States?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	
One of the best years.....	1	2	3	[27]
Above average.....	12	9	11	
About average.....	43	28	30	
Below average.....	32	39	39	
One of the worst years.....	10	21	16	
Not sure.....	2	1	1	

- 5b. And compared to other years, do you think 1993 was one of the best years for you personally, above average, about average, below average, or one of the worst years for you personally?

One of the best years.....	5	[28]
Above average.....	22	
About average.....	40	
Below average.....	20	
One of the worst years.....	13	
Not sure.....	-	

- 5c. Compared to 1993, do you think 1994 will be better, the same, or worse for the country?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Will be better.....	48	60	[29]
Will be the same.....	29	26	
Will be worse.....	18	9	
Not sure.....	5	5	

- 6a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Inflation.....	6	5	8	8	6	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	11	[30]
Unemployment.....	40	43	40	37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit..	25	26	26	31	28	28	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	11	12	11	10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	7	6	8	6	8	7	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	7	4	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL)...	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	

- 6b. During the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	<u>9/91*</u>	<u>6/91*</u>	<u>12/90*</u>	<u>9/90*</u>	<u>7/90*</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	<u>8/89*</u>	
Has gotten better.....	26	6	3	8	11	3	6	11	12	18	[31]
Has gotten worse.....	22	73	74	57	54	73	57	37	29	23	
Has stayed about the same.....	50	20	22	33	35	23	35	51	57	57	
Not sure.....	2	1	1	2	-	1	2	1	2	2	

*Asked only of registered

- 6c. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	
Will get better.....	43	<u>3</u>	21	23	20	23	<u>33</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>32</u>	[32]
Will get worse.....	19	27	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	34	50	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	4	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 6d. When it comes to economic power, which country is in a stronger position--the U.S. or Japan?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>3/91*</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	
The U.S.....	47	26	20	[33]
Japan.....	44	66	73	
About equal (VOL).....	3	3	3	
Not sure.....	6	5	4	

- 7a. Do you expect to spend more, about the same, or less on major purchases in the next year than you have in the past year?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>9/90*</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	
		2				
Expect to spend more.....	28	28	28	25	22	[34]
Expect to spend about the same.....	37	45	35	40	38	
Expect to spend less.....	34	24	35	34	39	
Not sure.....	1	3	2	1	1	

* Asked only of registered voters.

(FORM A ONLY:)

- 7b. Do you plan to spend more money on holiday shopping this year than you did last year, less money, or about the same amount?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	<u>10/91*</u>	<u>12/90*</u>	<u>11/30- 12/1/87+</u>	<u>10/87+</u>	
Plan to spend more money.....	15	16	9	6	10	16	11	[35]
Plan to spend less money.....	34	29	47	47	46	28	30	
Plan to spend about the same amount.....	51	54	43	46	44	55	58	
Not sure.....	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	

(BOTH FORMS:)

Now I'd like to ask you several questions about Bill Clinton's first year in office.

- 8a. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your view? **(READ STATEMENTS, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Statement A: Bill Clinton has tried to tackle too many of the country's serious problems.

OR

Statement B: Bill Clinton has taken on the right amount of the country's serious problems.

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Statement A/Tried to tackle too much.....	52	61	[36]
Statement B/Taken on right amount.....	40	32	
Neither (VOL).....	5	5	
Not sure.....	3	2	

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 8b. Compared to other presidents in their first year in office, do you think Bill Clinton has accomplished a lot, an average amount, or less than an average amount?

Accomplished a lot.....	3	[37]
	2	
Accomplished an average amount.....	4	
	4	
Accomplished less than an average amount.....	2	
	2	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 8c. And, thinking back on Hillary Clinton's first year as first lady, do you think she has accomplished a lot, an average amount, or less than an average amount compared to other first ladies?

Accomplished a lot.....	5	[38]
	9	
Accomplished an average amount.....	2	
	4	
Accomplished less than an average amount.....	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	6	

(BOTH FORMS:)

- 9a. How much change do you think Bill Clinton has brought to the country--a great deal of change, a fair amount of change, or very little change?

	1	[39]
A great deal of change.....	2	
A fair amount of change.....	4	
	5	
Very little change.....	3	
	8	
A change for the worse (VOL) . .	3	
Not sure.....	2	

- 9b. Which one of the following statements do you think is more correct? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Bill Clinton has changed Washington.....	3	[40]
	2	
Washington has changed Bill Clinton.....	4	
	7	
Some of both (VOL).....	9	
Neither (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	7	

- 9c. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you think that Congress and the President are working well together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things are pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
President and Congress have been able to work together.....	<u>3</u> 29	<u>3</u> 22	<u>3</u> 29	<u>*</u> 47	<u>*</u> 61	[41]
Things have been pretty much as they were before.....	67	72	65	47	34	
Not sure.....	4	6	6	6	5	

- 9d. How much of the time do you think you can trust government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or none of the time?

	1	[42]
Just about always.....		
Most of the time.....	1	
	3	
Only some of the time.....	6	
	9	
None of the time.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	

- 9e. Which of the following people or institutions do you think is the biggest obstacle to changing politics-as-usual in Washington?

Congress.....	2	[43]
	3	
Special interest groups.....	3	
	2	
The news media.....	1	
	7	
The federal bureaucracy.....	1	
	5	
President Clinton.....	6	
Not sure.....	7	

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 10a. Please tell me which one of the following statements comes closest to your point of view on Bill Clinton's priorities as president. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE FIRST TWO, BUT ALWAYS READ STATEMENT "C" LAST.)**

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton is spending too much time and attention on foreign affairs and not paying enough attention to domestic goals.

OR

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton is spending too much time and attention on domestic goals and not paying enough attention to foreign affairs.

OR

STATEMENT C: Bill Clinton has attained the right balance between foreign affairs and domestic goals.

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>1/93*</u>	
Statement A/Too much foreign/not enough domestic.....	36	47	7	[44]
Statement B/Too much domestic/not enough foreign.....	17	14	30]
Statement C/Right balance.....	39	33	58	
None of the above (VOL).....	4	NA	NA	
Not sure.....	4	6	5	

(BOTH FORMS:)

- 10b. Now I am going to read you several laws that were passed in 1993. For each one I read, please tell me if you think this law is a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction.
(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Step In Right Direction</u>	<u>Step in Wrong Direction</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico.....	53	33	14	[45]
The Brady Bill, which requires a five-day waiting period to allow a background check before purchasing a handgun.....	81	16	3	[46]
President Clinton's economic program to reduce the deficit by raising some taxes and cutting spending.....	55	37	8	[47]
The Family Leave Act, which requires employers to allow workers to take an unpaid leave to deal with sickness in their family or the birth of a child.....	79	16	5	[48]
President Clinton's policy allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the military as long as they do not reveal their homosexuality.....	50	40	10	[49]

- 10c. Which one of the following six issues do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time? **(READ CHOICES, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	
A) Improving public education.....	18	15	[50]
B) Improving the economy.....	16	45	
C) Combating street crime and violence.....	31	7	
D) Controlling the spread of weapons of mass destruction.....	4	3	
E) Dealing with the unfair trade practices of foreign countries.....	4	4	
F) Reforming the health care system.....	13	12	
All equally (VOL).....	13	13	
None of these (VOL).....	-	1	
Not sure	1	-	

- 11a. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities. For each quality, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton in that area using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how you feel.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When it comes to (READ ITEM), how would you rate Bill Clinton, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Very Poor		Mixed		Very Good	Not Sure	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>		
(FORM A--FIRST FOUR ITEMS ONLY:)							
Achieving his goals							
December 1993.....	8	13	43	23	12	1	[51]
October 1993.....	15	17	46	16	5	1	
January 1993.....	5	7	34	29	22	3	
Working with Congress							
December 1993.....	4	12	44	29	9	2	[52]
October 1993.....	4	12	41	29	12	2	
June 1993.....	12	16	45	18	5	4	
January 1993.....	2	5	31	32	24	6	
Developing new ideas							
December 1993.....	10	11	23	29	25	2	[53]
Dealing with the economy							
December 1993.....	16	17	35	22	8	2	[54]
October 1993.....	16	20	37	17	9	1	
(FORM B--NEXT FIVE ITEMS ONLY:)							
Combating street crime and violence							
December 1993.....	16	26	43	11	3	1	[55]
Standing up to special interests							
December 1993.....	16	15	40	15	9	5	[56]
Controlling government spending							
December 1993.....	21	18	34	18	7	2	[57]
Dealing with an international crisis							
December 1993.....	12	14	36	24	11	3	[58]
Looking out for the middle class							
December 1993.....	24	20	28	18	8	2	[59]

(BOTH FORMS:)

- 11b. What effect do you think the economic policies of President Clinton will have on you personally--will they help you, hurt you, or do you think President Clinton's economic policies will not have any effect on you personally?

Will help you personally.....	22	[60]
Will hurt you personally.....	41	1
Will not have any effect.....	31	
Not sure.....	6	

- 11c. If cuts are made in the Medicare and Medicaid programs, should the money that is saved be used to reduce the federal budget deficit, or should the money be used to help pay for the cost of national health care?

Reduce the federal budget deficit.....	21	[61]
		1
Help pay for cost of national health care.....	70	
Do not favor Medicare/Medicaid cuts (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

- 12a. Do you think that labor unions are helping or hurting the cause of working Americans?

Helping working Americans.....	34	[62]
		1
Hurting working Americans.....	48	
Some of both (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	9	

- 12b. Do you think that labor unions are helping or hurting the country as a whole?

Helping the country as a whole.....	34	[63]
		1
Hurting the country as a whole.....	47	
Some of both (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	10	

- 13a. If Ross Perot runs for president in 1996, what are the chances that you will support him--will you definitely support Ross Perot, probably support him, consider supporting him, or is there no chance at all that you will support Ross Perot?

Definitely support Ross Perot.....	6	[64]
		1
Probably support Ross Perot.....	7	
Consider supporting Ross Perot.....	27	
No chance at all of supporting Ross Perot.....	57	
Not sure.....	3	

- 13b. Compared to one year ago, would you say your attitude towards Ross Perot is more positive, more negative, or about the same?

More positive towards Ross Perot.....	9	[65]
More negative towards Ross Perot.....	41	
About the same.....	49	
Not sure.....	1	

- 13c. Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about why Ross Perot is back in the news? **(READ STATEMENTS SLOWLY. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

	<u>12/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Ross Perot is trying to unite his supporters to influence government policy.....	20	27	38	44	[66] 1
Ross Perot is laying the groundwork to run for president in 1996.....	36	44	35	29	
Ross Perot is seeking public attention for himself.....	23	14	16	19	
Ross Perot is trying to damage Bill Clinton.....	12	8	4	3	
None of these (VOL).....	1	1	2	1	
All of these (VOL).....	5	4	1	-	
Not sure.....	3	2	4	4	

- 13d. I would like to read you some criticisms that have been made of Ross Perot. Please tell me which of these criticisms, if any, you consider to be true of Ross Perot. **(READ LIST. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

Ross Perot doesn't really know what he's talking about.....	6	[67] 1
Ross Perot is mainly out for himself.....	1 5	
Ross Perot never proposes real solutions.....	3 1	
Ross Perot is not stable and reliable.....	2 4	
None of these (VOL).....	2 1	
All of these (VOL).....	1 0	
Not sure.....	5	

- 14a. Recently, Congress passed the Brady Bill, which requires that a person buying a handgun wait five days while law enforcement authorities perform a background check. Which one of the following statements come closer to your point of view concerning the Brady law?

Statement A: The Brady law is good, and will be enough to make a difference in reducing crime.

Statement B: The Brady law is good, but more gun control laws will be needed to reduce crime.

Statement C: The Brady law goes too far in restricting Americans' freedom to own handguns.

Statement A/Law is good, will be enough.....	9	[68]
Statement B/Law is good, but more needed.....	7	
	4	
Statement C/Law goes too far.....	1	
	2	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM A ONLY:)

- 14b. Now I would like to read you some actions that have been proposed as ways to combat violent crime. For each one, please tell me if you think it will make a major difference in reducing violent crime, a minor difference, or no difference at all against violent crime. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would (READ ITEM) make a major difference, a minor difference, or no difference at all? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Major Differenc e	Minor Differenc e	No Difference At All	Not Sure	
Requiring all handgun owners to be licensed.....	36	35	28	1	[69]
Raising taxes on ammunition.....	24	33	40	3	[70]
Outlawing all handguns.....	35	25	37	3	[71]
Making some drugs legal.....	21	27	43	9	[72]
Mandating life sentences without parole for criminals convicted of three violent felonies.....	75	17	5	3	[73]
Placing one hundred thousand more police officers on the streets throughout the U.S.....	57	35	6	2	[74]
Building more prisons.....	46	32	19	3	[75]

(BOTH FORMS:)

Now, some questions about health care.

- 15a. From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care program?

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/22/93*</u>	
Favor.....	47	47	51	[77]
Oppose.....	32	37	18	
Need to know more (VOL).....	15	12	17	
Not sure.....	6	4	14	

(FORM A ONLY:)

- 15b. Do you think Bill Clinton's health care plan should be passed by Congress pretty much as is, should Congress make major changes to President Clinton's plan, or should Congress not pass the plan at all?

President Clinton's plan should be passed as is.....	24	[78]
Congress should make major changes to President Clinton's plan.....	36	
Congress should not pass plan at all.....	15	
Congress should make <u>minor</u> changes to President Clinton's plan (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	14	

- 15c. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time?
(READ CHOICES SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
The <u>cost</u> of health care.....	43	42	42	48	[79]
People who are not covered by insurance.....	33	35	41	35	
The <u>quality</u> of health care.....	13	14	10	8	
All equally (VOL).....	9	7	5	8	
None of these (VOL).....	1	1	1	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	1	

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 15d. Here are some specific provisions of the Clinton health care reform plan. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose that specific provision of the plan.

	<u>Favor</u> <u>Provisio</u> <u>n</u>	<u>Oppose</u> <u>Provision</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
Requiring all businesses to pay at least eighty percent of medical coverage for their employees and giving small firms some government funds to subsidize this coverage.....	65	29	6	[80]
Having the government cover retirees under age 65, instead of their previous employer as is now the case.....	43	47	10	[81]
Providing exactly the same comprehensive benefits package for everyone.....	65	29	6	[82]
Imposing overall limits on how much the United States spends on health care.....	51	37	12	[83]
Charging all Americans the same for health care, regardless of factors like their age and where they live.....	52	42	6	[84]
Guaranteeing coverage for all Americans regardless of health or employment status.....	78	17	5	[85]

(FORM B ONLY:)

- 15e. Which of the following three approaches do you think would be the best way to provide health coverage for all Americans? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Proposal A: A system in which insurance companies would continue to provide health insurance coverage, with some government regulation to keep costs under control, and in which all employers would be required to provide health insurance for their workers.

Proposal B: A system in which the government would provide coverage to all Americans, and would collect all insurance premiums and pay all health care costs, without the involvement of employers or insurance companies.

Proposal C: A system in which consumers and businesses would join buying pools to get a better deal on health insurance and the government would give subsidies to help the poor, but in which there would be no government price controls and no guarantees that all Americans would have health coverage.

Proposal A/Insurance companies and employers provide coverage.	43	[86]
Proposal B/Government provides coverage.....	28	
Proposal C/Consumers and businesses join pools.....	19	
None (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

(BOTH FORMS:)

15f. Which one of the following health care plans would you favor more? **(ROTATE ORDER)**

PLAN A: A congressional plan that is less expensive than the Clinton plan because it relies on competitive buying of insurance, but which might leave more than ten million Americans without coverage.

OR

PLAN B: President Clinton's health care plan, which may cost more than the congressional plan, which provides more benefits and cost controls, and guarantees coverage for every American.

Plan A/less expensive congressional plan.....	20	[87]
Plan B/more comprehensive Clinton plan.....	69	
Neither (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	5	

Now, some questions about homelessness.

(FORM A ONLY:)

15g. Is the problem of homelessness more the responsibility of local communities, or more of a national problem that should be dealt with by the federal government?

Local communities.....	42	[88]
Federal government.....	45	
Some of both (VOL).....	9	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A ONLY:)

15h. In your own community, is homelessness less of a problem, more of a problem, or about the same degree of a problem compared to what it was five years ago?

More of a problem.....	35	[89]
Less of a problem.....	19	
About the same.....	39	
Not sure.....	7	

(BOTH FORMS:)**Now, some questions about foreign policy.**

- 16a. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.16a BELOW.)**

	Q.16a Most <u>Serious</u>		Q.16b Second Most <u>Serious</u>	
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	14	[90]	14	[91]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	21		19	
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government.....	4	CONTINUE	7	
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon..	31		21	
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs.....	13		19	
All equally (VOL).....	8	SKIP TO Q.16c.	-	
None of these (VOL).....	2		-	
Not sure.....	7		3	
No most serious problem (Q.16a).....	NA		17	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.16a.)

- 16b. And which of these issues is the second most serious policy issue? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.16a. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.16b. ABOVE.)**

(ASK EVERYONE:)

- 16c. If North Korea does not allow its nuclear production facilities to be inspected, to confirm whether it is building a nuclear bomb, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose the following actions. **(READ ITEMS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Favor Action</u>	<u>Oppose Action</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Increasing the number of U.S. troops in the region.....	45	49	6	[92]
Launching a military strike to destroy North Korea's ability to build a bomb.....	33	60	7	[93]
Improving diplomatic and trade relations with North Korea if it guarantees not to build nuclear weapons and agrees to allow full inspections.....	87	10	3	[94]

- 16d. Do you think that by the year 2000 a country will or will not use nuclear weapons to attack its enemy?

Yes, will use nuclear weapons.....	35	[95]
No, will not use nuclear weapons.....	54	
Not sure.....	11	

- 17a. Thinking about U.S. relations with foreign countries, with which of the following five countries or regions do you think our relationship will be most important over the next five years? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONE ANSWER ONLY.)**

China.....	23	[96]
Japan.....	18	
Latin America.....	8	
Russia and other former Soviet nations.....	20	
The Middle East.....	23	
Not sure.....	8	

- 17b. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on our relationship with China?

Statement A: We should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies.

OR

Statement B: We should demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States.

Statement A/maintain good trade relations.....	2	[97]
	9	
Statement B/demand improved human rights	6	
policies.....	5	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

- 18a. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself computer literate and comfortable using a computer, or are you not really comfortable using a computer?

Computer literate and comfortable using a	5	[98]
computer.....	5	
Not really comfortable using a computer.....	4	
	3	
Not sure.....	2	

- 18b. Now I am going to read you a list of seven possible New Year's resolutions. Please tell me which, if any, you plan to make for 1994. **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

Save money.....	38	[99]
		1
Eat healthier foods.....	32	>
Exercise more.....	36	
Lose weight.....	26	CONTINUE
Quit smoking.....	15	
Watch less television.....	13	
Spend more time with your family.....	37	
None/don't make resolutions (VOL).....	9	SKIP TO
		Q.18d.
Not sure.....	2	

(ASK ONLY RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY WILL MAKE RESOLUTIONS IN Q.18b.)

18c. Honestly speaking, do you think you will be able to keep these resolutions, or will you end up breaking them?

Will keep resolutions.....	56	[100]
Will break resolutions.....	24	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	3	
No resolution (Q.18b).....	11	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

18d. Now I would like to read you several names that were in the news in 1993. Please tell me which one of these people had, in your opinion, the worst year in 1993. **(READ NAMES. ROTATE ORDER. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

	1	[101]
Heidi Fleiss.....		
Bob Packwood.....	14	
Michael Jackson.....	43	
John Bobbitt.....	9	
Joey Buttafuoco	8	
Woody Allen.....	12	
Not sure.....	13	

18e. Of the following women, with whom would you most want to have lunch? **(READ NAMES. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	33	[102]
Hillary Clinton.....		
Whoopi Goldberg.....	20	
Janet Reno.....	10	
Katie Couric	10	
Julia Roberts.....	17	
None (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	3	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[103]
	8	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	8	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	5	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	2	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	6	[104]
Somewhat liberal.....	2	
	0	
Moderate.....	2	
	5	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	3	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
Views cannot be described in those	1	
terms.....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

F2b. Regardless of how you may be registered, how would you describe your overall point of view in terms of the political parties? Would you say you are mostly Democratic, leaning Democratic, completely independent, leaning Republican, or mostly Republican?

Mostly Democratic.....	2	[140]
	4	
Leaning Democratic.....	9	
Completely Independent.....	2	
	2	
Leaning Republican.....	1	
	2	
Mostly Republican.....	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	
Refused.....	3	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	1	[105]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	2	
	9	
Some college, no degree.....	1	

	8
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1
	2
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1
	8
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	4
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's	7
degree.....	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2
Not sure.....	1

- F4. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	11	[106]
]
25-29.....	11	
30-34.....	12	
35-39.....	12	
40-44.....	12	
45-49.....	8	
50-54.....	7	
55-59.....	5	
60-64.....	5	
65 and over.....	17	
Refused.....	-	

- F5. What type of work do you do? **(WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)**

	2	[107]
Professional/manager.....	2	
White collar worker.....	1	
	6	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	6	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	5	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	1	
	7	
Unemployed.....	4	
Never worked/not sure.....	2	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN:)

- F6a. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	2	[108]
	9	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

(ASK EVERYONE:)

- F6b. Are you, or is any member of this household, a member of a labor union?

Respondent is union member.....	1	[109]
	3	
Other person in household is union member.....	7	
Non-union household.....	7	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	

- F7. Do you have any children who live at home with you? **(IF HAVE CHILDREN AT HOME, ASK:)**
How old are your children? **(IF DECLINE TO GIVE AGES, ASK:)** Are your children under age 6, age 6 to 11, age 12 to 15, age 16 to 18, or over age 18? **(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

<u>Yes, Have Children at Home</u>		[110]
Under age 6.....	1	>
	8	
Age 6 to 11.....	1	
	7	
Age 12-15.....	1	
	2	
Age 16-18.....	7	
Over age 18.....	9	
<u>No, Do Not Have Children At Home</u>	5	
<u>Not Sure/Refused</u>	6	
	1	

- F8a. Now I'd like to find out about your current health care coverage situation. Are you presently covered or not covered by health insurance? **(IF "COVERED," ASK:)** And is everyone in your immediate family living with you also covered by health insurance?

Covered By Health Insurance		CONTINUE	[111]
Respondent and everyone in immediate family.....	80		
Respondent, but not everyone in family.....	7		
Respondent, but not sure about family.....	-		
Not Covered By Health Insurance	12	SKIP TO Q.F9.	
Not Sure/Refused	1		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE IN Q.F8a.)

- F8b. Which one of the following statements best describes how your health insurance is paid for? **(READ CHOICES.)**

You or a family member pays the full cost.....	1	[112]
	4	
You or a family member pays part, and an employer pays part.....	4	
	2	
An employer pays the full cost.....	1	
	4	
The government pays through Medicare or Medicaid.....	1	
	0	
Combination (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	1	
Not covered/not sure if covered (Q.F8a.).....	1	
	3	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE IN Q.F8a.)

- F8c. Is your health insurance provided by an HMO, that is, a health maintenance organization?

Provided by an HMO.....	2	[113]
	7	
Not provided by an HMO.....	5	
	1	
Not sure.....	9	
Not covered/not sure if covered (Q.F8a.).....	1	
	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F9. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	4	[114]
	8	
Catholic.....	3	
	1	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	1	
	3	
None.....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	[115]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	[116]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	7	

F12. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[117]
	7	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	3	